

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 152481 TOSEC 070062  
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

DRAFTED BY S/P:ALAKE

APPROVED BY S/ AKE

S/S - MR. ANDERSON

-----081336 151914Z /43

O 151850Z JUN 78 ZFF4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 152481 TOSEC 070062

NODIS

-STADIS KOOLAID/FOR TARBOFF FROM LAKE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: UR

SUBJECT: US-SOVIET RELATIONS

HERE IS THE REVISED OUTLINE, DEVELOPED WITH MARSHALL  
SHULMAN.

ISSUES IN US-SOVIET RELATIONS: OUTLINE

INTRODUCTION

-- BASIC ADMINISTRATION GOALS ASSUMED TO REMAIN VALID  
(STRONG DEFENSE, STRATEGIC STABILITY, ARMS CONTROL, HUMAN  
RIGHTS, LIMIT COMPETITIVE ASPECTS AND BROADEN COOPERATION).

-- BACKGROUND - PATTERNS OF RECENT SOVIET BEHAVIOR -  
MILITARY BUDGETS, INTEREST IN ARMS CONTROL, GLOBAL  
ACTIVISM, INTERNAL POLICIES, RHETORIC.

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-- PAPER FOCUSES ON U.S. POLICIES NEEDING CLARIFICATION  
NOW (EXCLUDING SALT, NATO, AND OTHER EUROPEAN SECURITY  
ISSUES).

-- CONTEXT OF PRESIDENT'S SPEECH; BUILD ON PRM-10,  
PRM-36, ETC. -

## I KEY ISSUES

### A. KEY ISSUES WHICH REPRESENT DISTURBING FACTORS FOR OUR LONGSTANDING COMPETITIVE RELATIONSHIP:

- 1) SOVIET USE OF THIRD COUNTRY MILITARY SURROGATES AND NEW SOVIET FOCUS ON POLITICALLY UNSTABLE STATES: AFRICA, AFGHANISTAN;
- 2) INTENSIFICATION OF SINO-SOVIET ESTRANGEMENT AND TENSIONS;
- 3) SOVIET TREATMENT OF INTERNAL DISSIDENTS AFTER HELSINKI AND OF JEWISH EMIGRANTS.

### B. BASIC QUESTIONS RELATING TO THESE KEY ISSUES:

- 1) DO THESE SOVIET POLICIES REPRESENT TEMPORARY OR TACTICAL ACTIONS OR RESPONSES, OR BASIC STRATEGIC POLICY DECISIONS?
- 2) WHICH SOVIET ACTIONS DO WE OBJECT TO IN PRINCIPLE AS VIOLATIONS OF A PATTERN OF DETENTE TO WHICH WE AND OUR ALLIES CAN SUBSCRIBE?

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### C. SHORT-TERM AND LONG-TERM EFFECTS OF KEY ISSUES ON:

- 1) US-SOVIET BALANCE OF POWER AND INTERESTS WHICH UNDERLIES DETENTE EFFORT;
- 2) US ALLIES AND FRIENDS;
- 3) CONGRESS AND PUBLIC, AND ADMINISTRATION'S ABILITY TO OBTAIN SUPPORT NECESSARY FOR ITS POLICIES.

## II OPTIONS FOR US POLICY

ON EACH ISSUE, REVIEW COUNTRY-SPECIFIC AND BILATERAL US-SOVIET MEANS OF ACTION AVAILABLE TO US AND FRIENDS AND THEIR COSTS AND BENEFITS, INCLUDING ASSESSMENT OF THE BEST TACTICAL APPROACHES TO ACHIEVE OPTIMAL IMPACT ON THE SOVIETS;

DEVELOP FROM SUCH A REVIEW PUBLIC GUIDELINES FOR US-SOVIET RELATIONS COVERING BOTH IMMEDIATE AND LONG-TERM PREMISES, PRIORITIES, AND OBJECTIVES.

A. ISSUE: SOVIET PRESSURES ON THIRD COUNTRIES

POSSIBLE OPTIONS (NOT MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE):

-- MAINLY COUNTRY-SPECIFIC EFFORTS: HELP RESOLVE LOCAL DISPUTES; ASSIST LOCAL FORCES AND FRIENDLY EXTERNAL POWERS, RALLY INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC OPPOSITION. (RELATIONSHIP TO ARMS SALES POLICY, EFFECT ON AID PROGRAMS.) STRENGTHEN EXISTING, BUILD NEW POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, MILITARY INSTITUTIONS. PUBLIC PRESSURE AGAINST SOVIET ACTIONS.

-- LINKAGE OF COUNTRY-SPECIFIC WITH BILATERAL US-SOVIET ISSUES INVOLVING THE SOVIETS (BOTH CARROT AND STICK).

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-- PRESSURES ON "THE FLANKS" - E.G., ACTIONS AGAINST CUBA OR OTHER SOVIET ALLIES OR SURROGATES.

-- MORE GENERAL LINE-DRAWING AGAINST SOVIET ACTIONS IN THE THIRD WORLD, GEOGRAPHICALLY (EXTENDING US PROTECTION TO CERTAIN COUNTRIES OR AREAS) OR WITH RESPECT TO CERTAIN KINDS OF SOVIET ACTIONS (E.G., USE OF SURROGATE FORCES, DISPATCH OF TROOPS OR ESTABLISHMENT OF BASES, USE OF UNACCEPTABLE FORMS OF THREAT, BLACKMAIL, SUBVERSION).

THERE ARE OPTIONS ALSO FOR MANNER OF TAKING THESE STEPS: TO HIGHLIGHT OBJECTIONABLE SOVIET ACTIONS AND SOVIET SETBACKS; ALTERNATIVELY, TO LEAVE THEM ROOM FOR COMPROMISE AND RETREAT.

B. ISSUE: US-USSR-CHINA

OPTIONS:

-- TAKE STEPS TO HELP PRECLUDE SINO-SOVIET RECONCILIATION, DRAWING MAXIMUM ADVANTAGE FROM SINO-SOVIET TENSION BUT AVOIDING POLICIES WHICH WOULD THEMSELVES INTENSIFY THAT TENSION.

-- INCREASE EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN CHINESE INFLUENCE AND POWER AT THE EXPENSE OF THE SOVIETS OR THEIR FRIENDS AND ALLIES.

-- RETURN TO A MORE "EVEN-HANDED" APPROACH IN DEALING WITH CHINA.

C. ISSUE: HUMAN RIGHTS

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OPTIONS:

-- STEPS TO BE TAKEN (SOME COMBINATION OF QUIET  
DIPLOMACY, LINKAGE, OPEN CONFRONTATION) TO DISSUADE  
SOVIETS FROM FURTHER SHOW-TRIALS AND PERSUADE THEM TO

RELEASE PROMINENT DISSIDENTS.

-- IF UNSUCCESSFUL, STEPS TO BE TAKEN TO HANDLE  
CONSEQUENCES AT HOME IN TERMS OF OVERALL RELATIONSHIP  
WE WISH TO ACHIEVE.

-- EXAMINE, IN LIGHT OF INCREASED EMIGRATION, TIMING  
FOR TAKING UP TRADE ISSUES OR SUGGESTING TO SOVIETS THAT  
WE MIGHT DO SO.

-- STRATEGY FOR USE OF HELSINKI FINAL ACT IN THIS  
CONNECTION AND FOR RUN-UP TO 1980 MADRID MEETING. CHRISTOPHER

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## Message Attributes

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Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014